

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01803 171201Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 SAM-01 OIC-02 NIC-01 /082 W

----- 085070

O R170909Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1408

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 260

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1803

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, FPOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - MARCH 10-14

1. SUMMARY: THE MAJOR CSCE EVENTS THIS WEEK TOOK PLACE ELSEWHERE: THE EC-9 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DECLARATION IN DUBLIN, WHICH APPEARED TO BE A JOINT COMMITMENT TO A STAGE III SUMMIT, AND THE BREZHNEV LETTER TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF PRINCIPAL WESTERN POWERS PROPOSING THAT STAGE III BEGIN ON JUNE 30.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 01803 171201Z

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND CSCE STMOSPHERE CHANGED CONSIDERABLY

AND THE CONFERENCE AGAIN APPEARED READY TO MOVE FORWARD, EVEN  
THOUGH DEADLOCK REMAINED ON MANY KEY SUBJECTS. US DEL  
PROCEEDED WITH CONSULTATIONS TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR  
FORMAL TABLING OF PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE ON MARCH 17.  
SOVIETS IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE FIRST TIME  
SHOWED SOME FLEXIBILITY ON MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING  
MEASURES, BY STATING THEY COULD AGREE TO NOTIFICATION OF  
NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS,  
PROVIDED MANEUVERS CBM IS ENTIRELY VOLUNTARY. COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE OPENED DISCUSSION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR STAGE III,  
AND WILL ESTABLISH A WORKING GROUP ON THIS SUBJECT NEXT  
WEEK. A FURTHER PARAGRAPH OF TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS  
FOR JOURNALISTS CAME CLOSE TO AGREEMENT, AND WORKING GROUP  
ON FOLLOW-UP BEGAN DISCUSSION OF OPERATIVE SECTION OF  
CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ON GENERAL FOLLOW-UP ARRANGMENTS.  
HOWEVER, PRINCIPAL BASKET III PROBLEMS REMAINED, AND SOVIETS  
CONTINUED THEIR TOUGH STANCE ON THESE AND MANY OTHER  
CONFERENCE ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- US DEL PROCEEDED  
WITH INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE,  
PRIOR TO FORMAL TABLING IN SUBCOMMITTEE, WHICH SHOULD TAKE  
PLACE ON MARCH 17. SUBCOMMITTEE, IN ATTEMPTS TO COMPLETE  
DRAFTING OF PRINCIPLE ON COOPERATION AMONG STATES, CONFRONTED  
STILL SERIOUS DEADLOCK ON ISSUE OF EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO  
PERSONS OR INDIVIDUALS IN SENTENCE CONCERNING LEVELS OR  
AGENTS OF COOPERATION. NATO ALLIES DUG IN MORE STRONGLY  
THAN EVER AS RUMORS CIRCULATED OF A DIVISION ON THIS  
ISSUE WITHIN THE SOVIET DELEGATION. WESTERN TACTIC IS  
DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN HAND ON AMB. MENDELEVICH, SOVIET  
REP IN PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE, WHO AT ONE POINT LAST  
WEEK EXPRESSED MORE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE ON A TEXT  
INCLUDING THE WORD "PERSONS", AGAINST SOVIET BASKET III  
CHIEF CUBININ, WHO MAINTAINED HARD-LINE REFUSAL TO CONSIDER  
WORD "PERSONS". EXPECTATION IS FOR NEW SOVIET COMPROMISE  
TEXT ON MONDAY.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- MOST INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT THIS  
WEEK WAS STATEMENT BY SOVIET DEL HEAD KOVALEV IN COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE ON MARCH 13 THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE WILLING TO NOTIFY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 01803 171201Z

NATIONAL AS WELL AS MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL CSCE  
PARTICIPANTS, NOT MERELY NEIGHBORING STATES, IF COMMITMENT  
IS COMPLETELY VOLUNTARY. ON BASIS OF THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON MARCH 14 AGREED TO RETURN NEXT WEEK TO WORK  
ON MANEUVER CBM, AND TO LEAVE FOR FURTHER REFLECTION  
UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS IN TEXT ON CSCE-ARMS CONTROL RELATIONSHIP.  
SOVIET REP IS EXPECTED TO AMPLIFY ON KOVALEV STATEMENT IN  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON MARCH 18, AND ALLIES IN CAUCUS WILL BE

DISCUSSING POSSIBLE TACTICAL REACTIONS FOR POST- EASTER PERIOD.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- SUB-COMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES RESUMED CONSIDERATION OF TEXTS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED LAST YEAR ON TRADE PROMOTION, AND AS A RESULT OF COMPROMISES BY BOTH EAST AND WEST WAS ABLE TO ELIMINATE ALL BRACKETS. FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO CONSIDER PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH CONCERNING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, CONCENTRATING ON THE QUESTION OF HOW AND WHERE TO INSERT A REFERENCE TO THE LEAST DEVELOPED, LAND-LOCKED, AND ISLAND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE WAS STILL STYMIED BY LACK OF AGREEMENT ON MAJOR ISSUES IN TRAVEL AND INTRODUCTORY TEXTS, WHILE THE MINOR YOUTH AND TOURISM PAPERS WERE ACTIVELY DISCUSSED IN AN EFFORT TO DISPOSE OF THE FEW REMAINING PROBLEMS IN THEM. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONCENTRATED ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, WHERE AN ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH MISSED MENTAL REGISTRATION THIS WEEK ONLY BECAUSE US DID NOT HAVE AUTHORIZATION TO AGREE. INITIAL DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSEQUENT PARAGRAPH COVERING TRAVEL BY JOURNALISTS SHOWED STRONG DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS. CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE ALSO REMAINED STALLED ON SUBJECT OF EXTENSION OF CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS, WITH SOVIETS ADAMANTLY RESISTING ANY REFERENCE TO "PERSONAL" CONTACTS IN COMPROMISE TEXT ON THIS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE. IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE, DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON WESTERN COUNTER-PROPOSAL TO UNACCEPTABLE SOVIET TEXT CONCERNING CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS. UNDER STRONG WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PRESSURE, SOVIETS BEGAN INCHING TOWARD WESTERN PROPOSAL, BUT AT WEEK'S END SUBSTANTIAL GAP REMAINED BETWEEN POSITIONS OF TWO SIDES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 01803 171201Z

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- WORKING GROUP CAME CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON A MILD COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY, WHICH SHOULD BE REGISTERED NEXT WEEK.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP OPENED DISCUSSION OF OPERATIVE PROVISIONS OF CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ON FOLLOW-UP, WITH TEDIOUS SERIES OF SPEECHES RE-STATING WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS. YUGOSLAVS TRIED TO MOVE DEBATE TOWARD ACTUAL DRAFTING BY SUBMITTING A LIST OF GENERAL ELEMENTS COMMON TO ALL DRAFTS OF FOLLOW-UP PAPER, FOR USE AS A BASIS FOR DRAFTING WORK.

8. COMMENT: THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE CHANGED REMARKABLY THIS WEEK, AS THE EC-9 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT ON CSCE APPEARED TO CONSTITUTE THE FIRST COLLECTIVE WESTERN COMMITMENT TO A THIRD STAGE SUMMIT. THIS WAS MATCHED ON THE SOVIET SIDE BY THE LETTER ADDRESSED BY BREZHNEV TO LEADERS OF PRINCIPAL WESTERN POWERS, PROPOSING THAT STAGE III OF THE CONFERENCE BE CONVENED ON JUNE 30, WHICH WAS EVIDENTLY VIEWED RATHER FAVORABLY BY SOME WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. THESE TWO DEVELOPMENTS FOCUSED THE THINKING OF DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA ON A THIRD STAGE LEVEL AND TIME FRAME AGAINST WHICH THEY HAVE TO WORK. THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS ON ITS WAY TOWARD CONCLUSION WAS REINFORCED IN GENEVA BY PROGRESS ON TWO KEY ISSUES: PEACEFUL CHANGE AND CBM'S. ON PEACEFUL CHANGE, DESPITE HESITATIONS ON THE PART OF SOME DELEGATIONS, USDEL MOVED TOWARD TABLING OF A NEW TEXT, WHICH HAS SOVIET AGREEMENT, AND ON CBM'S THE SOVIETS SHOWED SOME FLEXIBILITY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ALMOST A YEAR.

9. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE EVENTS PRODUCED A GENERAL WILLINGNESS TO MOVE FORWARD, WHICH WAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED IN THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S FIRST SCHEDULED DISCUSSION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR STAGE III. DURING THIS MEETING THERE WAS A VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS TENDENCY TO AGREE IMMEDIATELY TO INVITE PRESIDENT KKKONEN OF FINLAND TO PRESIDE OVER THE OPENING SESSION OF STAGE III, A MOVE WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS A SIGNAL OF PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT TO A STAGE III SUMMIT. THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 GENEVA 01803 171201Z

ESTABLISH A WORKING GROUP ON THE ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III NEXT WEEK, WHICH WILL OF COURSE PRECIPITATE THE THINKING OF GOVERNMENTS ON THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE THIRD STAGE. NEVERTHELESS, PROGRESS TOWARD STAGE III CONTINUES TO DEPEND ON RESOLUTION OF SEVERAL KEY ISSUES, WHOSE INTERRELATIONSHIP AND COMPLEXITY HAS THUS FAR DEFIED SOLUTION. IF THE SOVIETS SHOW A DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY TO MATCH THEIR APPARENT INTEREST IN CONCLUDING THE CONFERENCE, NO DOUBT STAGE II WORK COULD BE WRAPPED UP RATHER QUICKLY. OTHERWISE, IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE CONFERENCE TO MEET THE SCHEDULE MOST GOVERNMENTS NOW APPEAR TO HAVE IN MIND. END COMMENT.

DALE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETING AGENDA, MEETING DELEGATIONS, COMMITTEES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 17 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA01803  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750092-0529  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750345/aaaabogk.tel  
**Line Count:** 213  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <05 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - MARCH 10-14  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006